[Western Protectorate]

565 Most of them are nomads moving over their areas
221 in search of water and fodder for their animals. They are of con-
182 siderable economic importance in the life of the country, as the
463 carrying trade is in their hands. They have a reputation for main-
577 taining their agreements wth their neighbours and never violating a pledged agreement. If an individual makes any undertaking on behalf of his section or family, his people fulfil it: "He who seeks refuge with them, though he may be a murderer, is sheltered and not surrendered even if they fight in his cause."

628 If a man is killed in war, his kinsmen take retaliation for him.
682 A man who has slain many is regarded as a debtor and his debts are payable, life for life, by the lives of any of his tribe. If a man kills another in peace time, the debt can only be paid by his own death or by that of one of his kinsfolk. If it is not thus liquidated, a feud starts between the murderer and his kinsfolk and the kinsfolk of the murdered man. The violation of an undertaking is a charge on the whole tribe, and if they do not associate themselves with the violation they must force the violator to prove his innocence
[685] or rise against him. Loots are settled by the payment of goods or cash to the value of the loot taken, but claims for blood are never paid. "You may at this day find a grandson, whose father had died before the claim was settled by retaliation, making a claim for the blood of his grandfather killed forty years before."

● 411 It is worth remarking that there appear to be fewer firearms
531 in the eastern part of the Protectorate than there are in the western. There also seem to be many less modern weapons. It is possible that many of the firearms are more effective than they appear to be, as the Hadhrami decorates his weapon more than his western neighbour does, and fixes on to the butt a rounded piece of wood, sometimes covered with skin. These features make the rifle more reminiscent of the old matchlocks.

Townsmen.

565 The townsmen of the Hadhramaut are derived principally from
162 80 families who migrated from 'Iraq with Seiyid Ahmed bin 'Isa,
[173] and the following are the principal families.

In Tarim: Āl bin Diyāb, head of the family, Ahmed 'Ali bin Diyāb; number of the members of the family said to be important, 30, total, 50. Āl Dahruj, head, 'Ubeidillah; important members, 40, total, 100. Āl 'Ubeid Yamāni, head, Sa'id Heimid; important members, 200, total, 1,000. Āl Bā Hamāla, head, 'Ali Sa'id; important members, 50, total, 60. Āl Bā Sunbōl; important members, 60, total, 120. Āl Bā Sabih, head, Mubarek 'Ubeid Bā Salih; important members, 50, total, 100.

In Seiyun: Āl Bā Shagheiwan, head, Hadi Salih; important members, 20, total, 60, Sa'id 'Abdulla; one important member, total, 14. Bā Fadhl; important members, 5, total, 30. Bā Baja; important members, 15, total, 120. Āl Hasan; important members, 40, total, 90.

[The Hadhramaut tribesmen --Analyst]

8: Hamilton G-8 (no date) 1943 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

in those tribes where the rule of public opinion under a figurehead, who nevertheless can influence that opinion, approaches so much to a child's picture of our own. That problem I leave to the administrators. 000

Confederations under hereditary Chiefs in the Protectorate are in all cases in process of disintegration. It is, as one might expect, most marked on the borders of the confederations. As an instance, the tribes of Dathina belong properly to the 'Aulaqi Confederation. So do the Thula' tribes. We find, however, that to-day the 'Aulaqi Sultan of Nisab, who should be the head of the Upper Confederation of tribes, is reluctant to claim his headship over Dathina, and because of his reluctance the Thula' tribes, led by the Shamsi, have defied the authority of the Sultan and have closed the important road through their country to try and force the Sultan to assert himself. Land ownership in Dathina is almost more complicated than in most places in the Protectorate. 619 182 421

As a general rule a man may sell his land within the tribe. To sell land outside the tribe, the general consent of the whole tribe is necessary. It is particularly on tribal borders that one finds the land in the possession of Raya, non-tribesman class, peasant farmers, who work the land for wages. Where these farm land for a saint their position is fairly protected, but where their land lies on a disputed boundary and is the property of one of the disputants, their position is uncomfortable in the extreme. They are frequently pressed both by bribes and threats to affirm and change their landlord, and their position is the cause of endless argument and feud. As an instance, the land in Wadi Tuwana belongs to the Seyyids of Jebel Dhubiyat, who pay certain taxes for the overlordship of the Jebel to the Amir of Dhala'. The Seyyids have also a treaty with the Qateibi tribe to protect their lands in Tuwana, and the Qateibis dispute the right of the Amir to take any taxes at all from the Seyyids, who, they declare, should be tax free because of their holiness. If the Amir sends troops or envoys to Tuwana the Qateibis at once move there also, and a strained situation results. It results on the only motor-track between Aden and Dhala', which is used by the Amir and not by the Qateibis, who also thrive on strained situations, while the Amir does not. As a consequence, the Raya of Tuwana are practically independent and all tribal boundaries in the area are permanently in dispute. This situation is fairly typical of all inter-tribal boundaries in the territory, while in some parts these may be complicated by water problems as well. In the absence of courts which can uphold their judgments, I can see only a continued disintegration of the confederations from their borders towards their centres. 427 565 792 651 619 672 182

I do not favour the flashlight anthropological view whereby a people is shown at one moment of time and no trouble is taken to find out how they have reached their present stage of civilization or whether they are on the up or down grade. It is clear that these confederations are on the down grade and have been so for many centuries, ever since the kingdoms broke up, which in itself was doubtless a slow process. A main contributory cause of their disintegration is the blood fued, and there is little doubt that the grave social condition which has been reached in much of the territory comes from the uncheckable expansion of these feuds due to 182 628 411 436

182 628 411 436 [772] 182 671 576 183 182 693 728 671 [625] [643] 000

the flood of precision rifles which has entered the territory in the last quarter of a century. In particular, the introduction of the cheap Le Gras carbine, selling at the price of four goats, wrought untold harm. Ease of killing and the extreme danger in which most of the people now live has resulted in the breaking down of tribal custom. In a certain blood feud within the tribe of Ma'an killing by treachery became the rule some years ago on both sides of the feud. Men were killed, in direct contravention of tribal custom, when they were being escorted by the killers and by Seyyids or holy men. The breaking of tribal custom may seem a small thing to those who have not made a study of tribal life. To assess the gravity of its breach one must enquire into its purpose.

Tribal custom is a code of life and behaviour. It lays down modes of greeting, which are stereotyped verbal approaches to understanding and friendship. It lays down laws for eating and drinking and for all the functions of life. It ensures honesty in public dealing and in private relationships. It gives rules of procedure for tribal conferences, for the entertainment of visitors and the protection of fugitives, the poor and the weak. In a primitive community it is the cement with which the community is bound together. When individuals can break tribal custom without punishment the last security for the community has gone and chaos is only a matter of time. When the breach occurs in the very centre of a confederation, as it has in Ma'an, the final disintegration of the confederation as a social unit cannot be far ahead. The confederations will break naturally into warring tribes, as has happened in Dathina. The disintegration of the tribes would follow were the feuds to remain unchecked.

I have covered in the main the social organization of the tribes into their confederations and have shown the course which these confederations are following, a process of disintegration which began, no doubt, in about the third century of our era. In those districts under the rule of Suzerains social collapse has been halted by autocratic rule. This rule enforces peace by stopping the feuds and by supporting Sharia' courts, whose judgments, though often unfair, are at least upheld by the autocrat's police forces. Such tribes are, moreover, simple to deal with, as the government is vested in one man with an educated point of view. Whether or not the autocrat is essential for progress towards self-rule is a controversial matter into which it is not my province to enter.

In reply to a question as to whether the kings were killed off when they reached old age, Major Hamilton said no; they had reached a stage when nobody was sacrificed for them. In Uganda the King, when he was crowned, held a spear in his hand and two men stood with him, one the Prime Minister and the other a low-class individual. The King touched the Prime Minister with the spear, and the Prime Minister touched the other man with the spear. Before Stanley's advent, the King pricked the Prime Minister with the spear and then turned round and killed the other man. That was the sacrifice in place of himself or his father or whoever came before. As far as was known, by 700 B.C. there was no more sacrifice of kings in the Yamen, but there must have been before then.

312 of a broad, gently sloping bedrock drainage surface. The plateau abounds in suitable rock surfaces, and they serve as catchment areas for occasional cloudbursts. Walls, six to eight inches high, fashioned of closely packed but uncemented rock fragments and slabs, are

[291 411 362]

FIG. 21—Bedouins of Wadi Hajr. Note the attire and appearance: bare feet or sandals; short sarong; cartridge belt; curved dagger; long, black, glistening, oily hair; ever present musket. To the stocks of their antiquated guns, goat skulls are frequently attached, as these are thought to provide greater comfort than the original design.

laid out radially from the well so that surface drainage will converge on it from a wide area.

415 401 483 To transport water, Bedouins use bags of uncut goat skins, tied firmly at the leg and neck openings. For drawing well water, the skin is fashioned into a bucket and attached to a rope passing over a pulley in a crudely constructed scaffolding of palm logs lashed together with coconut-fiber cord. The bucket is raised and lowered by donkeys, cattle, or slaves, with the assistance of an appropriate harness. To augment the lifting power applied to each bucket, it is customary to excavate an incline downward from the mouth of the well, equal in length to the depth of the water table, and it is along such a trench that man and beast plod long, weary hours each day. When a bulging and leaking skin has been lifted slightly above the welltop, it is pulled over and lowered into a catchment basin connected with the local irrigation system.

THE CARAVANS

492 438 439 Many Bedouins, not engaged in agriculture or herding, find occupation in the camel transport system of the Hadhramaut. A man

usually owns one or two dromedaries and with these joins other tribal associates in moving cargo both to and from the coast. Flour, sugar, rice, tea, cloth, timber, and dates, in which the country is not self-sufficient, are brought to the Hadhramaut from distant lands

FIG. 22—The Sultan of Qishn, accompanied by three Bedouin councilors, is attired in a turban and wears a curved dagger in his belt. Mr. W. H. Ingrams is at the extreme right. Note the Bedouins' well formed features and general attire, especially the sarong, which has been introduced by Hadhrami emigrants returning from the Malay States.

by sailing dhows and tramp steamers. A large part of the cargo, together with locally produced dried fish and fish oil, is distributed by caravan to the interior. Because exports—chiefly skins—are meager, the caravans must make their return journey empty or, at best, only lightly laden. The balance of exchange necessary to provide the excess imports is obtained from the remittances of thousands who have emigrated and are now living abroad, chiefly in the Malay States and along the east coast of Africa.

There are two methods of contracting for the services of a caravan and its many owners, each of whom insists on feeding, caring for, packing, and driving his own beast of burden—either by the day or for a fixed sum between certain points along a prescribed route. The latter plan is preferable, since it precludes any possible benefit to the camel owner from slow travel; but even with an incentive to progress he hesitates to push his animals more than 12 miles a day, and he is skilled in the fabrication of excuses. The men argue at great length about their respective loads before the morning start. A favorite maneuver is to put a slow camel at the head of the line. The inexperienced traveler may also be sidetracked by tales that no

8: Pike N-4 (no date) 1940 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

strangers were assumed to be enemy scouts, the advance guard of a larger fighting force behind some distant dune.

The "ambushed" caravan comprised sixteen Bedouins, only twelve of them armed. This fact, however, the theoretically opposing force was supposed not to know, since it is an unwritten law of the desert that every Bedouin travels with rifle and ammunition. Without hesitation the leader selected three armed men to act as scouts and an unarmed messenger. Hastily the four men washed down a few mouthfuls of food, since they did not know when they would be able to eat again, filled with water from the large reservoir skins some small ones suitable for short, flying trips, and then slipped swiftly off across the sand in a peculiar bowlegged glide. Under cover of a near-by dune the caravan men scrambled to its summit, at once opened fire, and drove the two intruders from view. They then dashed ahead to the dune on which their adversaries had stood and later advanced from hilltop to hilltop parallel to the caravan route and between it and "enemy" territory. In the meantime the camels had been hastily packed and started on the march along the now protected trail, which they followed without intermission until sundown.

The two "enemy" tribesmen were not seen again, and it was concluded that their actions had been misinterpreted. Freedom from molestation during the remainder of the day did not, however, cause the caravan leader to relinquish vigilance. The party was scheduled to pass at about 3.00 p. m. a water hole to one side of the trail and hidden from it by a dune. As a method of precaution an advance guard of four went ahead and, just as the caravan came abreast of this spot, converged on the well from four directions. Although the strategy displayed by the Bedouins and their chief was happily unnecessary, the "shadow" campaign showed how fearless and cautious these men of the desert can be.

Fishers and Ropemakers

During certain of the winter months sardines abound along the Hadhramaut coast, traveling in large schools, which can be seen from the shore as black patches on the surface of the sea. Natives wade out with hand nets or cast from small canoes, making enormous hauls with considerable ease. The sardines are much appreciated by the Bedouins as an addition to their diet of dates, millet, and goat or sheep meat and are eaten either raw or cooked. The fish are taken from the nets, tossed up on the beach to dry, and then packed into large bundles for transport to the interior, where they are used for camel fodder or fertilizer. Fish oil is obtained from that part of the catch which is dumped into pits and allowed to decompose. Sting rays, sharks, porpoises, and lobsters are also taken from the sea; but as the use of lobster is unknown, it is cast back from the nets.

As with the Arab Legion, the primary functions of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion are to assist in the keeping of law and order and the propagation of the ideas and policy of Government by peaceful means whenever its members come in contact with the tribes and Bedouin in the interior. For these reasons its man-power is drawn from far and wide, but because of the prevailing illiteracy of the Bedouin population the senior officers are provided on secondment from the Arab Legion, and considerable help and supervision is given by a British Army officer, who is attached to the staff of the British Resident Adviser (the senior British civil officer at Mukalla) as Military Assistant. In its nine years of existence the H.B.L. has amply fulfilled expectations, and by the end of this year its numbers should reach 9 officers and 330 other ranks, while the whole cost will not exceed £29,000.

Competition to be enlisted is keen, and the authorities can hand-pick their recruits, preferring those whose families have a certain standing in their tribes, thereby giving the future soldier a measure of authority to speak in and for his tribe. The clearest method of describing the day-to-day life of the Legion is to trace the course of the new recruit from time of entry to date of discharge. The individual who presents himself at the headquarters in Mukalla for enlistment will be somewhat uncouth in appearance, rather short in stature, and spare in build. Experts in the local physiognomy and dress may be able to tell from which tribe he comes, as there are small but traceable differences between each. His dress will consist of a loincloth or short *futa*, black or dark blue, into which is thrust a *jambīyah*, a short knife in a curved scabbard. His hair will be long, kept in place with a twist of cloth, and both hair and short beard will be plentifully oiled; his body may be covered with indigo. Many of the Bedouin are good-looking in a small-featured, feminine way, which is emphasized by their bobbed-length hair. Some have tribal scars on their faces, and most wear amulets round their necks and bracelets above their elbows, both made from silver and set with cornelian. He is unlikely to bring his rifle with him, although he may well own one, probably of the antiquated French make and possibly dating as far back as 1870.

When transformed into a private in the H.B.L. he will retain his long hair and silver ornaments, but will be quite different otherwise. Over shorts he wears a khaki *qamīs*, a calf-length one-piece garment with a shirt top. Round his waist is a leather ammunition belt, under which he wears, on ceremonial occasions, a broad red webbing sash with long ends. On his head is a khaki *kafiyah* with black head-rope, or *'iqāl*, and the silver badge of the H.B.L. in front. A *kafiyah* is seldom worn in the Hadhramaut, and the soldier off duty is prone to twist and wind it turban-wise round his head.

On being accepted the recruit swears to be loyal and faithful to H.M. King George, his heirs and successors, and to obey the orders of all officers set over him. He also agrees to abide by H.B.L. standing orders, the Army Act of his force, but does not sign on for any specified period and is free to leave at three months' notice. Now comes the barrack square, weapon training, guard procedure, and drill. At the end of the first month he receives 22 rupees (33s.), the pay of a private soldier. This,

PROTECTORATE. *By Major the Honourable*

576 When the visitors come near they dismount, form a line with the most important men in the centre, advance to a distance of about fifty yards [411] from the 'home side,' and halt. They then load their rifles, adjust their garments, and wait for the ceremony to begin. The men of the 'home side' now spring forward, usually in couples holding hands, and, uttering war cries, form themselves into a long column, with the most important men in front. The column moves towards the visitors, but it is led in wheels and circles, so that at no time is it directly approaching them. If the principal men are not in front, it indicates that some at least are not disposed to give the visitors a very cordial welcome.

576 greatest interest in them is displayed by the
533 visitors, not only because they must soon reply in kind, but also because upon them may depend whether the visitors remain to feast and spend the night or whether, with unpleasant smiles and covert insults, they will move off to sleep elsewhere. On one occasion in Hâdhina the greeting song opened with the words—'It is only through 'our politeness that you have crossed the boun- 'daries of Hâdhina.' These words, and a rapid count which showed that over half the 'home side' were in the forts, led to suspicion, and caused the visitors to extend their line until all semblance of ceremony was lost. But if the words are pleasant, an atmosphere of friendliness
576 is quickly established. The men of the 'home
411 side' eventually file past the principal visitors, often firing their rifles and 'salaaming', and wheel back into their original line.

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

1933. In these last eighteen months however, and particularly during the last winter, the number of visitors, official and otherwise, runs into over one hundred, in fact, into several hundreds if naval visitors and tourists on the coast are included, for Mukalla has recently had the fresh experience of seeing bus loads of tourists from steamers driving through its street.

The more frequent and more intensive incursion of European visitors is of course in itself a great contrast with the recent past, but I think that the contrast which most strikes visitors who have returned to the country in the past year is the comparatively peaceful conditions which now prevail. Little more than a year ago every Badawin and tribesman in the country carried his rifle with him, even to walk across the street. Blood feuds were widespread, and even harmless travellers of the unarmed classes were at times likely to lose not only their property but their lives. Travellers by motor car had to take with them an escort when passing from village to village. In places there were extensive systems of trenches to pass from the villages to the fields, and I know of people who have spent as much as twenty years without getting beyond their own doors.

Now however all this has passed and it is comparatively rarely that you see a tribesman carrying a rifle, indeed many of them do not even carry the *jambiyas* or curved daggers which are almost as much a part of their dress as a walking-stick was of ours. How all this has come to pass is more a matter of the history of the Hadhramaut than its geography, but I should simply like to say that it was largely through the will of the people who have a genuine desire for peace and for the following of peaceful pursuits.

This new peace has resulted in a much greater contact between tribes and between different parts of the country and has made possible a great extension in communications. Eighteen months ago there were about half a dozen motors on the coast and about sixty in the interior, carried up by camels. By the completion of the Al Kaf road Tarim has been linked with Shihr and passenger-carrying lorries ply almost daily between the coast and the interior. When I left the country a couple of months ago there were at least two hundred motor vehicles in it and every ship was bringing one or two. Many more car tracks have been made and cars now go to almost all parts of the Hadhramaut, westwards to Al 'Abr and eastwards to As Som as well as up or down branch wadis. The Mukalla Government is also constructing another remarkably good motor road to the Hadhramaut which is being built northwards from Mukalla and southwards from Du'an. Something over 20 miles of the former and 10 of the latter had been completed when I left; about 60 miles remains to be done, of which the greater part is over the flat *jols* and offers no particular difficulties of construction. Starting from Mukalla you can now motor at least 300 miles in the Hadhramaut without recrossing your tracks, and there are over 500 miles of tracks altogether.

The possibilities of air transport have also been greatly improved. There were, eighteen months ago, eight landing-grounds in the five Sultanates in the eastern part of the Protectorate of which only three, Mukalla, Shibam, and Qishn, were used at all frequently. New landing-grounds have been constructed at Tarim, Seiyun, Hureidha, Al 'Abr, 'Azzan, Balhaf, Risib,

18:Ingrams G-3 (1934-36)1938 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

we first went up there they charged us two dollars for every skin of water we took and a dollar for four coconuts, which we were reduced to buying as we had no other food and were stuck for a couple of days waiting for cars from the Hadhramaut. On that first visit one very nearly shot me for trying to take his photograph, but now he is more than ready to pose. During the two nights we were waiting for cars the Ba Hasanis were a little nervous as they had murdered some one shortly before and were expecting an attack, so we had to build rough stone forts. When we had lent a hand we suggested that we should be paid for our labour as they had charged us for everything, but they did not like the idea and spent the night on sentry go droning monotonously to keep themselves awake. One good lady of the Ba Hasanis dresses as a man with dagger and all, and likes to be called Sheikh Salim. She is the only one of the women who does not veil. The habit of veiling varies a lot through the different tribes of the Hadhramaut and quite a number of them go uncovered.

When the peace was established it became possible to complete the Al Kaf road and it was opened by Sir Bernard Reilly in July last. It is now a toll road administered by a Board and half its revenue is being accumulated for capital works and improvements and half is being spent on maintenance. The maintenance expenditure is becoming very heavy as the daily buses do a lot of damage. The fees for the use of the road are designed not only to give revenue but also in conjunction with minimum fares to protect the Badawin camel traffic. Indeed goods are not allowed to be carried by road unless they are perishable, too heavy for camels, or urgent, in all of which cases the freight charged has to be higher than that which would be charged for camel transport.

It is about nine and a half to ten hours' solid driving from Shihr to Tarim, though of course one usually stops for a meal and that makes it about twelve hours. After leaving Ma'adi the road runs along the well-named Jol al Fiqra or Backboned Plateau, a ridge from which magnificent views to the sea 20 to 30 miles away and over deep wadis are obtained. After that the scenery tends to become monotonous, particularly when you have done the drive a dozen times or more, as it dodges endlessly round flat topped hills and wadi heads, and after the *'aqaba* of Ma'adi the remaining 130 miles or so are a series of levels from which you climb or descend by quite modest hills. Two hours on from Ma'adi you come to Reidat al Ma'ara, the country of the Ma'ara tribe, a collection of small scattered villages in country intersected by shallow wadis which offer some chance of cultivation. There are some wells, but the people depend very largely on *qarifs*, open water-holes built to collect the rain-water. The Ma'ara, who are friendly folk, are also distantly related to the Hamumis. They never give any trouble though there are one or two of them who are terrific litigants, and are always coming to see me in Mukalla or the Hadhramaut about cases which I have had investigated by several independent tribunals with invariably the same result. Most of these squabbles are land squabbles and that is a source of the greater part of the litigation in the Hadhramaut.

Reida is the place where one generally stops for lunch, as it is very nearly half way. The pleasantest place I think is under a tree near one of the *qarifs*,

Hamumi tribesmen at Shihr

Crossbows in Wadi 'Amd

Wahidi tribesmen at 'Azzan

FACING P. 306(A)

IT IS A CURIOSITY OF DU'AN THAT ALL WOMEN DRESS

alike in long black dresses with coloured patches inserted in front and orange scarves over their heads. They are, too, the only women who affect nose rings similar to those usually worn on the fingers. Very few of them have ever left their valley, but many of them bemoaned the absence of husbands who frequently left them for years at a time.

The Seiyids lent her a magnificent white donkey to go on to Sif where we had stayed before, and the following day she was met by a friend and a car just before reaching Meshhed. Thence she rejoined me in Seiyun.

From Du'an Mr. Figgis and I flew across to 'Azzan over the upper reaches of the Wadi Hajr, which like the Wadi Maseila has perennial water nearly all its length. I had been to 'Azzan before, but this visit was very short, as the machine crashed on the landing-ground. It was a very artistic crash, and in Air Force parlance a complete write-off. Luckily none of the three of us in the machine were in the least hurt and the crash was far more alarming for Mr. Figgis and his pilot still up above, as it was some time before we found a comfortable way of climbing out of the ruins. I hope that in every crash I have I shall have as skilful a pilot as on that occasion. The crash was due to misguided zeal of the locals, for it was their own home-made landing-ground and they had raked up all the stones off the ground into a ridge along its edge, and it was this we hit as we landed. As ours was the machine with the wireless in it we swapped over into the other, which had landed safely, and flew back to Mukalla to organize assistance.

'Azzan is the capital of the Balhaf Sultan and is most picturesquely situated on a citadel rock by the side of the wadi. I was given a great reception on my first visit there with the firing of rifles and war whooping, which is much more a feature of welcomes in the Western Aden Protectorate than in the Eastern. As we walked from the landing-ground to the village the Artillery, a fine old bronze gun marked "A. Wilson. Cossipore. 1841," was brought into play. Our path led below it and it was really rather alarming, because with each discharge a shower of burning shirts and other old clothes, which had been used as wadding, was fired over us.

'Azzan is the only place where I have seen spears surviving, though my wife saw them in the Wadi 'Amd. One or two aged warriors came out with spears which they shook in martial fashion, threw into the air and caught again. Quite a number of old weapons survive in the Hadhramaut, for my wife also saw crossbows in the Wadi 'Amd and there are more of the old matchlocks in the country, some of them still in use, than in any other part of the Protectorate. The Hadhramaut seems to have turned over to modern weapons much more recently than the Western Protectorate, for most of the rifles, modern weapons, have wooden butts covered with goatskin fastened over them to take the recoil, a precaution far more necessary with matchlocks. It is worth recording perhaps that there is a heavy slump in the price of firearms. The ordinary Badawin rifle can be bought for as little as eight dollars with some ammunition thrown in, and the most modern rifles of continental manufacture, which eighteen months ago fetched an easy six hundred or more dollars when brought in from the Yemen, are now not bought at all and offers have been made of them for as little as fifty dollars.

The atmosphere of the Balhaf court is completely tribal; much more like

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-S (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

The great cleanliness of the houses of the rich is very noticeable. The drainage from lavatories and kitchens runs down wide, square shafts into spaces destined for it in the lower floor, into which however, unfortunately, light penetrates so that they become good breeding places for flies. Bathrooms and also lavatories are partly fitted out as in the East Indies. Sometimes there are douches, and generally there are large brick cisterns for the bath water, which one scoops out to pour over oneself. Our host has a large refrigerator by means of which cold drinking-water is provided for the numerous guests and dwellers in the house, and fruits and sweetmeats become the refinement of pleasure.

Cooking in Terīm, as in Sēwūn, is very much influenced by Singapore and Java. Chinese cooks are responsible for the extensive rice meals that are enjoyed daily by dozens of guests. Many dried or tinned foods are imported from Java. Some kinds of vegetables are grown in the gardens of Terīm; the fresh fruits which are served at table are large oval melons and the first ripe dates. As the latter are rather scarce, last years' dates come to table prepared as paste, in cakes, sweet bread, etc.

Sayyid ʿUmar el-Kāf's house, like that of our host, is furnished in half-European style. Old-fashioned Indian rocking-chairs stand on the beautiful carpets. A bed, rigged up in the Javanese manner, decorates the great reception-room. The bed linen is not white, but pink. There are many mirrors on the walls and also photographs of the family's estates in the Indies. Sayyid ʿUmar is the owner of the great Europe Hotel in Singapore; he shows us with pride — and no wonder — the model of the new hotel, which makes an impression magnificently American. The walls are further decorated with Mausers and American repeating rifles, which are hard to obtain in this country and, consequently, are worth a great deal.

It had already struck us that the Kathīrī soldiers were better clad than those of the Qeʿēṭī. The number of pro-

24:Meulen and Wissmann T-3 (1931)1932 MM2 Hadhramaut MM2

fessional soldiers is much smaller here, and the black slave element is entirely absent. The sayyids of Ḥaḍramaut themselves are not armed, but they set great store on the possession of a few good Mausers (here called *Mēser*) and of large quantities of munition.

4. THE HIGHEST MINARET OF HADRAMAUT.

In the afternoon, accompanied by our host's son and the doctor, we climb the highest minaret of Ḥaḍramaut. No one knows the exact height; we estimate it at 150 feet. It is a pity that this minaret is built in modern style. The true Ḥaḍramaut minaret is round, tapering a little towards the top, with a single band of lattice-work as the only decoration; on the top are small round pillars supporting the cupola. The colour, cream, stands out very effectively against a hard blue sky and above the grey-green of the date-palms. But *this* minaret is square and the colour is blue and white; it has many small window openings with grey borders. It also tapers towards the top, where the spiral staircase of mud is only practicable for slim people. At the top is again the little cupola with pillars supporting the roof.

A striking panorama is spread out from here before our eyes. Standing in the midst of the luscious, green oasis, with its gaily coloured palaces, we gaze out towards the wide, scorched plains of sand of the wādī and the dark, crumbled walls of the *djōl*. One can see clearly from here that Terīm is a town of some extension, with many great houses of which the greater number are kept in good condition, and that many new ones are in process of building. The cemetery, with its three cupolas marking the graves of *walīs* (saints) [1], makes a large open space. There are many mosques, recognisable by their high or low, round or square minarets. The ruins of a great castle, the centre point of the old city, stand on a hill.

[1] See p. 131, foot-note.

5:Gt. Brit., Colonial Office G-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2
714
411
701

Facing P.38 (A)

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5: Gt. Brit., Colonial Office C-3 (1947) 1949 MM1 Aden
Hadhramaut MM2

and the Kurab launched an attack on the Dahm. In September the Dahm returned the compliment. In November the Sei'ar raided Qahtan (Sa'udi Arabia). These were only the major incidents of quite an eventful year on the boundaries of the Eastern Aden Protectorate. There were other raids and attacks on caravans; little could be done with funds and forces available but report that these had taken place.

Within the Qu'aiti state things were far from peaceful. By June disturbances in Wadi Hajr and Wadi Du'an had shown that the time was not yet ripe for the collection of the new date-tax and it was accordingly lifted with a noticeably beneficial effect on security. But in the same month the Manahil tribe, apparently exasperated by tactless and overbearing behaviour towards them of Qu'aiti officials, attacked and overran two Qu'aiti government posts at Urr and Som, looting all their arms, ammunition and rations. The Resident Adviser was able to negotiate the return of some of these in return for concessions. Later in the year the Manahil went back on their word to resore the seventeen rifles taken. Two other tribes, the Ba Qutmi and the Ba Rasheid, in the neighbourhood of Wadi Hajr, caused the Qu'aiti Government some concern. The threat of a light field gun induced the former to see reason in August. The difference with the Ba Rasheid however—the building of a fort which the Qu'aiti Government considered threatened the peace—remained unsettled at the end of the year. The Ba Rasheid were thought to be receiving encouragement from the Mansab of Budha, a gentleman who considers himself an autonomous ruler and has on several occasions gathered the tribes and incited them against the Qu'aiti Government.

There was one major incident in the Kathiri state, arising from the carrying of arms in Wadi Hadhramaut by members of the Ba Jari tribe, contrary to decree. This occurred in July; though warned, the Ba Jari persisted and in September a force of the Hadhrami Bedouin Legion was sent to bring them to reason. This force arrested the ringleader, took some 65 rifles and effected punishment of the tribe without any fighting taking place.

Dr. R. B. Serjeant, a member of the staff of the School of Oriental and African Studies, arrived in March to spend a year in linguistic and other research. Dr. M. K. Serjeant, his wife, was also sent by the Red Crescent Society and carried out welfare work for women and children both in Wadi Hadhramaut and in Mukalla. In March the Netherlands Minister in Jeddah visited Hadhramaut. In April the Qu'aiti Sultan arrived from India, but returned there in October. Attempts to persuade the sultanic family of Balhaf to elect a successor continued during the year and by the end showed signs of success, the lot falling upon Nasir bin Abdullah, son of the Regent murdered some years ago.

Chapter 2: Population

The population of the Western Aden Protectorate is approximately 350,000 souls, all Shari'a Arabs, with the exception of about 2,000 Jews. The population of the Eastern Aden Protectorate is estimated at approximately 300,000 souls.

30: Gt. Britain G-5 (ca. 1918) 1920 MJ1 Saudi Arabia
Hadhramaut MM2

a monotonous chant. The dance is usually executed by two persons, each dancing by himself, who, while turning all the time, alternately approach and withdraw from the orchestra, but always keep at the same distance from each other; when the first two are exhausted their places are taken by two others, and so on for many hours at a stretch.

The status of women in the Hadhramaut appears to be superior to that in many Mussulman countries. The wife lives in the same part of the house as her husband, but she receives her visitors in her own rooms. Divorce is very rare, the repudiation of a wife without very good cause being held in high contempt; if an individual did so repudiate his wife he would certainly fail to obtain another wife of the same social scale. Polygamy is very uncommon; there are no eunuchs; in the event of the husband taking another wife, the first quits his roof immediately and returns to her parents. Amongst the Bedouins of the Hadhramaut polygamy is absolutely unknown. If a man definitively leaves his town to seek his fortune elsewhere, the wife may, and usually does, refuse to follow him. In this contingency it is considered legitimate for him to take another wife, and he is not expected to continue to support the first.

The marriage dowry is of a double character; there is, first of all, a legal tariff varying from 20 to 2½ florins according to the social status of the fiancée; and secondly, there is the nuptial gift, the amount of which varies according to her personal qualities: the first may be reclaimed in the case of a dissolution of marriage, the latter not.

In the Hadhramaut the poor and the rich dress much alike, the quality of the material, the jewels worn, and the arms carried being the only indications of status. The clothes worn by the townsmen resemble, in many respects, those of most orientals. Sandals with thin shoes, but no stockings, are worn; when out of doors a kind of plaid (*rādi*), made locally, about seven yards long and a little short of a yard wide, is invariably carried or thrown over the shoulders. The head is shaven.

The garments of the tribesmen are similar in the main to those of the townsmen, except that they are shorter, are worn somewhat differently, and the material is usually woven in diamond 'check'; the *jubbah*, or robe, is replaced by a shorter buttoned jacket; and the tribesmen carry their arms, a straight sword, a two-edged poniard, &c. The *rādi* is also worn. The hair is grown long and falls over the shoulders, and the head is covered